

Federation of Pakistan and the Issue of Trust- Deficit between Centre and Provinces

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ABSTRACT

The divided societies and integrated societies have some other prospects and experiences of federalism. State like Pakistan has an experience of divided societies. Multicultural and multilingual Pakistan has faced the issues of a balanced and straight federal political system. This study examines, trust deficit between centre and its federating unit especially, Sindh by measuring the institutional variables that create many serious concern of uniformed and integrated central approach. The concept of 'trust' has emerged as an important ingredient of federalism. It has an important link between the centre and its federating units. Deficit of trust expose the out of order of government in its role, creating multitude of problems in the management area. Poor performance of government raises the issue of legitimacy, which is now linked to performance. This study is conducted in order to measure the state of trust deficit between centre and units with special reference of Sindh province. Consequently, the state of trust and intensity of deficit has been measured and analysed to reveal real causes and flaws of various institutional problems created by the poor administration of centre. A survey instrument was premeditated to evaluate the factors influencing the trust deficit. The questionnaire was framed from various sources of the prior literature and conceptual framework illustrates one integrated model. Furthermore, questions were asked to scale the resentment of units on centre and compulsion of centre on federating units of Pakistan.

Research concludes that centre could not provide enough satisfaction to its units in resolving the issues of interprovincial coordination and nor created a more balanced federal set up which can build a trust an important factor of integration and unity.

Furthermore, results reveal that to unify different identities under one umbrella is so difficult at the time when all the groups require a favourable environment for their cultural, economic, and political inspirations. Result suggest the maximum autonomy must have

given to units as defined Pakistan as a federation comprising of autonomous units, which shall be completely sovereign in its functioning.

Keywords: *Federation, Pakistan, Institutions, Trust Deficit, Problems, Crisis*

Introduction

The concept of federalism has been subject to diverse interpretations since its development process but simply it is a structure of government in which the control of governance is divided between the central and provincial governments. It is also considered to be suitable for heterogeneous political societies to develop cooperation and coordination in social, economic, political and administrative sphere as well as it provides a delicate balance between the conflicting demands between a union and its units. Federalism is considered as a technique for political integration. All countries that are working under federal systems have shaped their political system according to their conditions and mutual agreements (Kanwal, 2016)

The interest of researcher in the projected research on trust deficit between centre and its federating unit especially Sindh enhanced when he himself went through deprivation, resentment and reservations of Sindh province on various issues published in leading newspapers and research journals.

It has also been observed throughout the history of federalism and legislation of Pakistan since its inception that West Pakistan has survived as a federation and is in no danger of splitting up. But there exist many serious tensions that reveal there is no uniformed and integrated central approach that could build a cohesive bond among the ethnicities such as Panjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pakhtun, and Siraki nationalities. Provinces were denied their political, economic, administrative and cultural rights resulting in polarization between federation and provinces on the one hand and amongst the provinces on the other.

The main reason behind the mistrust is lack of coordination among the federating units and unstrained centre periphery relations. The distribution of the resources is one of the great reason to mistrust each other, almost the distribution of the resources never happened according the constitution of 1973. Economic disparities number of political, social and economic issues has grappled Pakistan. In 1973 constitution Council of Common Interest (CCI) was created to look after the economic, distribution of wealth affairs. The financial matters are being looked after by the central government, the developments plans and other revenue like tax as is direct look into the matters by the central government.

First extensive question of trust deficit is the quantum of power-sharing between the Centre and provinces which affects the inter-governmental relations in the federation of Pakistan. The centre-provinces relations in Pakistan form a complex political and administrative question for constitutionalists and federalists all around the world.

Raza Rabbani a veteran politician relates the internal fabric of this problem with a messy tug of war for legitimate power between the Centre and provinces. Katharine Adeney, Claude Rakisits, Mehrunnisa Ali, Muntzra Nazir and Syed Jaffer Ahmad have pointed this problem to the centralized character of Pakistani Federation. Adeney concludes that though major changes have been made to balance the centre-provinces relations in the constitution of 1973 through the 18th amendment, it has not yet gone far enough. Rather it has increased the intensity of ethnicization in Pakistan.

Revenue generation and distribution

Basically Pakistan is an agricultural country. The economy of the state had a mixture of agriculture as well as of natural resources, Oil and Gas also has a lot of contribution in economy. Historically, In Pakistan, the only criterion for distribution of resources was population of provinces. Nevertheless, in terms of the provincial governments' allocation of wealth, the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) for the first time award also takes account of other factors such as revenue generation, deprivation and reverse population dynasty.

In Pakistan most of the revenue generating taxes are collected by federal government, while provincial governments besides collecting less revenue generating taxes, mostly rely on the federal government transfers through NFC award (Javed & Ahmed, 2019)

Although the federal government has, in principle, taken responsibility for some important issues, such as defence, communication, debit service and foreign policy, it has, in the course of time, also assumed many responsibility within the province. These include economic development, agriculture, law and order, public service services such as health and education, etc. This practice has resulted in an increase in the federal government size, forcing it to take major chunk of the resources, while provincial governments are left with meagre resources (Rana, 2020)

Issues between centre and federating units

Since independence state of Pakistan is facing problems of relation with centre and provinces and relation between provinces itself. In the early years the trust was created in trust deficit when the elected government in former NWFP now KPK (Khyber Pakhtun Khuwa) was dissolved by the centre. The issues of identity also started very early, when Bengali speaking people were neglected and treated badly by the central government. The imposition of one unit creates trust deficit between centre and its units. Strong centre does not want provinces to enjoy full autonomy as it was promised in 1940 resolution. Neglecting the importance of provinces this newly independent state went in the wrong hands which destabilize the country. The military become more powerful and they hold and controlled all the affairs of the state and government. The military dominance creates problems for political parties, thus the role of the political parties in Pakistan went missing. Military threatened the political leadership

Fiscal decentralization in Pakistan

Fiscal decentralization is seen as a crucial policy tool to achieve economic efficiency and efficient governance by means of regional financial autonomy. It lets smaller federal units engage in the country's economic growth and allows the central government to carry out its national tasks more effectively. It is seen as a significant measure to boost growth. The lower government level has financial control and management, whether provincial or, in some cases, district governments empowerment. Pakistan has always had a hot topic of discussion on the resource distribution process. The allocation requirements for capital was often criticized for different reasons by the majority of federal units. The allocation of the capital is awarded in Pakistan through the NFC Award. The NFC award is awarded to all the provinces and is distributed by the Provincial Finance Commission (PFC). Nevertheless from financial point of view, decentralization may pose danger if it is weakly designed so that provinces are able to externalize their costs to others (Rodden & Wibbels, 2010)

Role of the Political Parties for making federation strong

Political parties in Pakistan have failed to integrate the federation. Since from the beginning the conflict between military and political parties remained unending. Pakistan witnessed more than 30 years of dictatorship. Because of the military dominance political parties were banned or were threatened by military dictators by using different means. Political parties and

their leaders have their own interests. They have less concerned with political problems of state. Due to lack of political socialisation political parties have failed to bring people of Pakistan under the one umbrella of Pakistani as single nation. Increasing domestic issues has gave birth to regional nationalism and separatist movements in Pakistan. After the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010 people of Pakistan believed that it would be very useful to bring provincial autonomy as it was promised in 1940 Pakistan resolution. But the nation observed few hindrances in effectiveness of this constitutional amendment. Some of the political parties thinks that this amendment have creates weak federation, some of them believed that this was the base of Pakistan making and this is transmitted after almost 70 years of inception, basically this delay has weakened the federation of Pakistan. None of the political has majority in centre, political parties are limited at provincial level due to their party vision and off course due to the imbalance relationship between political parties and establishment. Political analyst call it as the most powerful group of individuals who strongly influence on politics of Pakistan. Pakistan is also witnessed different political parties with different political ideology. There is very less number of political parties who believe in liberal democracy. Only Pakistan people's party is seen with liberal political ideology, other political parties have different party program but none is strongly supportive in strong federation.

Institutional Development

Pakistan has faced an undermining institutional growth due to the military intervention in political institutions. When the elected governments failed to deliver services and development, then the military intervene in political affairs of the state. Institutions become weak or become functional when it has a direct influence by military. Elite power politics also creates imbalance in Pakistani politics. Feudal influence on politics since from the beginning also had negative influence on political mobilization on Pakistani politics, peoples are less concerned with their political rights. Power elites had big impact and their power can not be debase or can not be rupture due to the political structure and their strong ties with military and bureaucracy. In direct contravention to founding fathers' envision, Pakistan was ruled, by the military for much of its existence. Whenever civilian rule manage to come about has been compromised at best and distorted at the worst, at the behest of the men in Khaki(Taj, 2015)

Civilian rule in Pakistan has always been very short-lived, and the military has had to intervene and take over the reigns for historical, socio-political, and economic reasons rather than any inherent dislike of democracy in general. At the same time, the constitutions were equally clear in stating that the polity would be an Islamic republic with adequate safeguards for ethnic/religious minorities. Politically speaking the military in Pakistan has been disproportionately politicized like no other. Pakistan's army and its intelligence wing, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) have long been at the helm of affairs in the country (Haqqani, 2010)

Due to direct holding of power military has politicized the all state and governmental affairs.

Centre provinces grievances

Most of the grievances between centre and provinces are of revenue distribution and of power sharing. The constitutional powers between centre and federating units are well defined but in recent times the issue of Karachi is remained undefined between centre and Sindh. Federal government's interference in Sindh government affairs creates hostility between these two. Relations between the center and the province can be very difficult. In Pakistan, behind decades of an acrimonious power struggle, the federation highly centralized structure has been a key factor. Even after the passage of the historic 18th Amendment to the Constitution and the finalization of the 7th NFC award in Parliament, this tug of war persisted, trying to stabilize these ties 9 years ago. Indeed in recent months, the tension between the center and the provinces has increased, not least because of a variety of federal actions such as the Sindh Chief Minister the suspected charges of fake bank account involvement on a no-fly list. Pakistan's partitions through, the question of federalism is currently a central discussion in single constitutional debate. The question of federalism has emerged from the outset as the main demand, particularly for the smaller Pakistan's federal units as a way to defend their interests against central government, in which Punjab, the most populated province, has The National Assembly and the federal bureaucracy have a commanding majority. The small provinces demanded adequate constitutional changes in running their administrative and economic affairs (Shah, 1994)

In Pakistan, the Centre has maintained a dominant role over the provinces right from the beginning. The dismissal of Khan Sahib Ministry in NWFP on 22 August 1947, M. A. Khuhro on April 20, 1948 in Sindh, Mamdoth's on January 25, 1949, and Fazal-ul-Haq's in 1954 in East Pakistan (under section 92-A of 1935 Act), despite the fact each government

enjoyed a majority in its Assembly, was a reflection of the federal principles the country was created on. They were not only regarded as the undemocratic norms, but created a precedent which later on led the central government to restore their reserve powers to dismiss provincial ministries(Akbar, 2002)

Conclusion

Federation of Pakistan needs to rethink on different political and social issues. Distribution of resources and constitutional powers and limits of the provinces need to be readdressed. Political parties had a limited role in bringing new political reforms.The 18thconstitutional amendment opens a new attention and debate about the future of the state of Pakistan and relations between center and its units. Most important the case of revenue sharing and tax collection on different things is now part of the provinces. It further financially weaken central government. Center is not willing to allow provinces to collect taxes but in the case of Sindh they announced that after 18th amendment they are constitutionally bound to do so. As Sindh refused to collect taxes which are central subject.

After the first decade of newly born military take over and dominated and controlled all political and other institutions of the country. The in late 1970s once again controlled all institutions, after the long struggle of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) once again constitution and political system restored. Again in 1999 October General Pervez Musharraf brings military coup on the name of political crisis and it went long almost 10 years he remained in power. Meanwhile military is responsible for undermined growth of institutions in Pakistan. This all created trust deficit between provinces and centre.

The other main issue of trust deficit is involvement of military in political affairs of the state, this one is very harmful for Pakistan due to military in politics since from inception of Pakistan military is the major one who destabilize the political institutions of Pakistan. The military welfare foundationsbusiness is at top from petrol pump stations to industries. Military has controlled/ influence all the affairs of the state and government from foreign policy to national policies it seems that military is working on behalf of the government either by force or by justification to weak governance of the elected government.

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